

A  
LETTER  
TO THE  
BISHOP of OXFORD,  
Occasion'd by his  
LORDSHIP'S SPEECH  
On the First  
ARTICLE  
OF  
IMPEACHMENT  
AGAINST

*Dr. Henry Sacheverell.*

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A  
L E T T E R  
T O T H E  
B I S H O P  
O F  
O X F O R D,

Occasion'd by his Lordship's Speech on the  
First Article of Impeachment against  
Dr. *HENRY SACHEVERELL*.

My LORD,

**T**HE Terrour of your Name alone once did  
wonders in *France*, the very Sound with-  
out Unchristian Bloodshed, and Slaughtering  
could procure a compleat Victory : I  
hope your Lordship will not be less Famous in  
Polemicks, that your Fame may be as loud for the  
Latter, as your suppos'd Ancestors were for their  
everlasting Triumphs over the Enemies of their  
Country ; let a Glorious Emulation make your

Lordship endeavour, to be as Famous for your  
 Ingenuity, as they were for Cutting of Throats;  
 this, as I do not in the least question, so I expect  
 but to add one more to the Number of those,  
 whom your Lordship's perspicacity and discern-  
 ing Judgment has laid Prostrate at your Feet.  
 It is with the Expectations of this Conquest,  
 that I willingly meet my Fate, as glad to fall by  
 the Hands of so great an Adversary, to share the  
 same Fate with poor *Sacheverell*, and both to Lie  
 in the same Common Grave; it's evident to all  
 who Read your Lordship's Speech, The Solidi-  
 ty which so strengthens every Line, that the  
 greatest Assault can never shake it's firm Basis, but  
 Unmoveable as a Rock shall defie the many At-  
 tempts of Truth and Reason, to Subvert it,  
 which raises a just wonder in me, that any should  
 offer to Assault you after so obsolete a Method,  
 which always prov'd unsuccessfull with a party.  
 I never knew of any Govern'd otherwise than by  
 Prejudice, Interest, and Humour, in all my Life.  
 It would be thought, my Lord, the Effects of  
 Madness, and the utmost extremity of Folly to  
 perswade a tir'd jade to perform it's Journey  
 Syllogistically, talk Rationally to an Ass, or  
 Preach Morality to a Brute, nor would it be less  
 Improper to endeavour to Convince some Men  
 by true Arguments, for which Reason, my Lord,  
 I shall forbear so rash a Enterprize, and proceed  
 another way, but as impenetrable as your Lord-  
 ship stands, tho' I have neither strength nor Ca-  
 pacity to make any Impression on so great a Man,  
 I may at least, like an Engineer, find out the  
 weakest part, to direct others to a more succes-  
 full



full attack, which is the utmost of my Ambition or Aim. Your Lordship begins with the Reflections on a Noble Lord, who among other strange things, mention'd Bishop's Voting contrary to their Doctrines ; which, my Lord, is so far from being strange, that nothing is become more Common ; your Lordship cannot be Ignorant of the Truth of this Reflection ; one very near to your Lordship, confirming the Truth of that unhappy Charge ; for my part, no Body can be more sorry than my self, that such Scandal should be given to our Church ; but I would not have your Lordship take any offence, as if I thought you one of that Number ; but at the same time tho' the Impression of your Fidelity to our Religion is so fix'd in my Mind, that nothing less than Apostatizing, like that Pious Arch-Bishop *Williams*, can wipe it out, yet some who have not that due Esteem for you, as my self may entertain a harsh Opinion of your Integrity, which makes me highly concern'd for the Honour of a Bishop of our Church. My Lord, I have examin'd the Passages quoted by the Doctor in his Tryal, and the forgoing Lines, nor do I find such Insincerity in Transcribing of them, as you would Insinuate ; if some few were serv'd in that manner, it was an Impolitick Action, when so many Men were left Unobserv'd equally Learned and Pious, who gave no opportunity to be thus Misrepresented and could do him as much Service as the other, it's therefore very improbable that such fraud should be practis'd, when there was so little occasion for it, it would be an attempt worthy your Lordships Name and Character,

Character, to prove all the Passages mention'd, False and Conterfeit, or that they were contrary to what they said; if this could be done, I should bid farewell to Doctrine of Passive Obedience, as also the Veneration and Esteem I had for those Prelates, but as this has not been perform'd by any in citing the counter Pages, nor yet by your bare Assertion, I shall defer to Entertain so ill an Opinion of them, this makes me heartily Sorry to see your Lordship labour to Ruin their Characters at once, by those Foul Aspersions; But in the perusing your Lordship's Speech, this very Paragraph made me Reflect on the Unaccountable alterations of the Times, how contrary the Spirit of our Modern Bishops is to the Humour of the Primitive Ages; they are not now as the Christians formerly were for Antiquity, but so prone to Innovations that they are not content to make new alterations in our Religion, and the State, but our Language too must suffer the awkward trial of their Skill; The word *Eventual*, my Lord, I am confident is as new as the Doctrine of Resistance, and like that made to serve a turn when something else fail'd you; But lest this Digression should be Impertinent, I shall no farther insist upon it, but only desire your Lordship to Speak *English* for the Future.

I own with your Lordship, this matter is of too tender a Consequence to be thus roughly handled by you; it's not only spoil'd by this Treatment, but Christianity suffers not a little, but with as much Modesty as you excuse your Ability, you will give place to none, for that Plainness and Sincerity which becomes you (you ought

ought to have said one of the moderate party, we should then not have been at a loss, what to expect from your Hands.) Then as for your incorrectness, you need not be in any pain about that; you are so well known as few will take any notice at all of it. We will next examine what you deduce from your two Propositions, the Foundations of this vast Superstructure, and too weak I am afraid to support the unweildy Bulk you raise upon it. You confess the Scriptures to have made no Exceptions in its Precepts of Obedience, that the Rules are laid down in the most general Terms, but still it's unreasonable to suppose that they had no reserve in particular cases, that they may be dispens'd withal; if a Father urg'd by a furious fit of madness should attempt the Death of his Son, it's lawful to avoid the Danger by Resistance, this seems to be the force of your Argument, which is far from proving that general Text of Scripture, may be Subject to particular Exceptions. As for the Resistance of a Child we must consider that there is an Exemption made in in Scripture, we are not to obey contrary to a Superiour Duty, but the preserving my life against my Father, is an Obligation I owe the publick, to preserve one of its Subjects against an illegal Assault, this is above all private respect due to my Father mention'd in the Scripture, besides this Resistance is not properly a Rebellion against him, but only a motion of the Animal Spirits, not guided by Reason; it's no more, than if in Convulsive Fit, I should hold his Hand to prevent his hitting me



me in the Face. This Exception as it concerns only a brutal, not an Human Action, is Foreign to our purpose, or the meaning of that Commandment ; therefore, my Lord, you have not prov'd that where the Scripture delivers a precept without any Exception in any part of the Sacred Writ is left to our Discretion to make one, where, when, and how we please, this Assertion tends not only to the dissolving one simple Article of our Faith, but all the Morality of the Bible ; a latitude of this Nature, would open a way to excuse the worst of Villains, as well as expose the weakness of the Book it self in not providing better to prevent those Mischiefs.

Thus I hope the next time your Lordship Votes in so Honourable an Assembly, you will consider how well worth every Article of our Religion is contending for, like a well manag'd Machine pull out but one Pin, and the whole runs Disorderly and Confus'd. That the Supreme Power is not in the King, you would prove from Sir *Thomas Smith* who saith, that the most high and Absolute Power of the Realm consisteth in Parliament, the Parliament can give Forms of Succession to the Crown. It's manifest that he speaks here only of the Legislature, that the highest Legislative Power is in the King, Lords and Commons. But, my Lord, tho' I may not be so happy in Distinctions as some of the College of Bishops, tho' I am not so subtle a Sophist as the most strict forms of Words cannot hold me, I can easily make a Distinction  
between



between the Supream Irresistible, and the Supream Legislative Power, nor be put to such a Difficulty to find an Evasion to make my Opinion appear tolerable as you can in some of your Writings. The Legislative Power in *Germany* is lodg'd with the Inferiour Princes; the Emperor has no Authority there, but still he is the Supream Irresistible Power, tho' he enjoys not the Exercise of the least Act of Power amongst them; besides you ought to make some Reparation to the Memory of that great Man *Sir Thomas Smith*, in misquoting his Words; and being now actually Guilty of what you accus'd the Doctor of in the beginning of your Speech. He could not contradict so many Acts of Parliament which declare the King to be the Supream Power; this is a point I hope out of that respect I have for his Character, that he understood better than your self. You have no doubt taken the Oaths of Supremacy; you could not but Remember what you have so solemnly in the presence of God sworn to; you'll have the Executive Power in the King, that is, he's a Slave to his People to put the Laws in Execution of their own making. This is so far from giving him any Power, that it divests him of all, and levels him with the meanest. It's true you allow the Prerogative of being Irresistible while he Acts according to Law, just as a Servant may be said to be Untrouable; while he Executes his Masters Commands, he deserves not a banging, a very handsome Collusion, worthy of the distinguishing pericranium of a Moderate

Bishop, such as St: *Paul* (and he was no foolish Apostle) never thought of. Christianity is much oblig'd to your Lordship, for some Principles, relating to the State, as it is to some of your Brethren, for theirs to the Church; But your Lordship Condescends at last, that unless there be a Total Subversion, it's not allowable to Resist; but granting, my Lord, your former Assertion, viz: That the People are the Supream Power, and the King the Executive only; you have so weaken'd your own Concession, that it will not stand, for if all Power is lodg'd in the People, it cannot be Unlawfull for them to use it on the most trifling occasions, tho' it may be Imprudent, which as they are judges of it, concerns not me, or you, who are *mera puncta*, in respect of that vast Collective Body. Besides I understand not what your Lordship means by that phrase, Total Subversion; do you call Suspension for a while of the Laws any such thing? Truly, my Lord, I think that God alone, who is the Searcher of all Hearts, is the better Judge of it. Is not this a tender Case, my Lord; if a Man happens to be mistaken in the Princes Intentions, he incurs that heavy Sentence of Eternal Damnation, threatned by St. *Paul*; I remember your Brother *Sarum* said, that his Conscience would not suffer him to consent to the Invasion of this Kingdon, 'till he was satisfy'd, that a total Subversion was design'd, so that you have brought the Revolution to stand on this Ticklish Point; If the People are the searchers of the Hearts of Princes, if their judgments

are

are infallible, in the Examination of their Intentions, the Revolution is just, but if passion and prejudice can blind their Understanding, then it's a damnable Rebellion ; thus, my Lord, you have, according to the Proverb brought your Hogs to a fine Market ; you have clearly Condemn'd the Revolution, instead of Defending it ; so unfortunate has your Lordship been in your Instances, to use Mr. *Hoadly's* Expression. I could, my Lord, to take advantage of this Concession, prove your Speech to be a well studied heap of Contradictions ; and as the Bishop of *Sarum* said, that acting against Law was alone Rebellion, and at the same time justify'd the *Rochellers* ; so you by a no less Remarkable Obliviousness of your Memory have run into the same Inconsistency ; but as I dispute not to get any advantage of your Lordship, but for the sake of Truth, I shall connive at such mistakes, incident to Men whose Brains are turn'd. Your Lordship, alledges an Instance in the *Rochellers*, as a Resistance made by the Subjects, to defend their Laws from Violation, by the Arbitrary measures of their Prince, when this could not be their Case, who could claim no benefit of the protection of their Laws, when they had the Supream Legislative Power against them ; therefore as your Argument proves too much, it proves nothing at all. One Expression in your Paragraph, of the Reform'd Churches having God's Altars among them ; the concern you shew of their being vilify'd alas, has rais'd in some, an Indigna-



tion against your Lordship, as if you betray'd the Episcopal Order, by putting the Presbyterian Church on the same Foot with it; but I cannot believe your Lordship, so much of a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing. I am satisfy'd, too many of our Church entertain these loose Principles: But I believe those words were casually Spoken, you could have no real meaning (if you have that Sincerity you pretend to,) in that unhappy Assertion; afterwards, if you Read the Letter directed to the Bishop of *Sarum*, you will be convinc'd, that in citing Bishop *Bilson's* Authority, you have acted the suppos'd part of Dr. *Sacheverell*, for you have pick'd the beginning and end, but left the middle of the Sentence to be past over in oblivion. The Dean of *Carlisle*, a Man who has deserv'd so well of Christianity, and the Common Cause, has little reason to be oblig'd to you; his meaning was quite perverted, where he says let others judge, he had before prov'd the Doctrine of Resistance on any pretence whatsoever Unlawfull; the matter made so plain, he refers to the judgment of any discerning Man. It's only a phrase of Speech, it's hard to squeeze one poor Sentence ten Thousand ways, to make an Author Speak what he never thought, and Nonsense in to the bargain. Your Lordship, next would perswade us after your usual Rhetorical empty Fourishes, that there is no distinction between an Absolute, and a Limited Monarchy, if the King may not be Resisted. Is this the difference; then, my  
 Lord,



Lord, Power is not in the People of an absolute Monarchy, but only a Limited one, that when a King consents to Govern by fix'd Rules, he is accountable; so that our Kings by granting privileges to their Subjects, have lost their Sovereignty, and we are in a happy condition. But to leave this, I will return to a free and impartial Examination of your Lordship. You are pleas'd to say there is no distinction between an Absolute, and a Limited Monarchy, allowing the Doctrine of Non-resistance; then your Lordship grants it to be unlawfull to Resist an absolute Prince, let him act with the greatest Tyranny and Oppression; If then only the breaking a few Laws, not the injury the Publick receives makes so mighty a change, whence does this proceed? from the nature of a compact? then, my Lord, it is not necessary that the breach on his side should be mention'd, with the penalty consequent hereupon. Is not this essential to a compact, or can a Man of your Lordship's worth presume to destroy the plainest notions, and make a Total Subversion of Reason, and your self Reign absolute Tyrant, and usurper over the Minds of the Men. Thus, my Lord, in consulting the absolute Power of the Prince, you are setting one up over us, too apt to be inveigled by your Eloquence, to believe contradictions. Thus, my Lord, you cannot blame us, if we use that Liberty which we enjoy, as *English* free-born Men, and resist your Lordship's Incroachments. I would ask your Lordship, whether Religion, Honour, and Conscience are so alien to the very

Natures

Natures of Princes, that they never feel the blest effects of their Influence, whether it is not safer to trust to that than the precarious will, the byass'd affections of the populace. How easily they are perswaded to Rebellion, Forty one is a Witness, how easily they can construe the least Infraction of the Laws, a total Subversion, we have felt by curst experience, it's a pity our Constitution should be call'd a happy one, if it provides not against these mischiefs; nor can it ever prosper with them, being so ungratefully obtain'd; to secure our Liberties, our Prince may lay his Crown down at the Feet of the Mob, and take it from their hands as an act of their Favour, 'till they please to resume their kindness, and withdraw their Indulgence; he then becomes their abject Slave, and they Lords paramount, Try and Condemn him, nay, what is worse cut off his Head, for Male-Administration. This, my Lord, is matter of fact, nor do we want Men Bloody, Impious, and Revengefull enough to act the same again; but, my Lord, I only beg that Men of your Function, and Order, in the Church, would leave that dangerous practice, of instilling Principles of that nature into the People, to rail at Crown'd Heads, and render those sacred Representations of the Almighty, the Scorn and Contempt of the Vulgar; I never could Understand, my Lord, the tendency of those Men, or what their Ambition would carry them to. But your Lordship's Comparison between a Limited, and an Absolute Monarchy is mere  
cant,

cant, you cannot imagine that *France*, or *Turkey*, are more Slaves than we our selves have someti es been ; I always thought it better to Perish by the Diviner Hand of a Monarch, than by an overwhelming Faction, in a Rump Parliament ; and it's more credible if we insist upon our Honour, to fall Victims of the Vice-gerents of the Almighty, than be Sacrific'd to the Fury of the Rabble ; Whatever prerogatives are assur'd to the Prince for a time, they are rendred so precarious, and uncertain by the Doctrine of Resistance, that a Crown is rather encumber'd, than secur'd by them ; it's better, according to your Lordship, that the Prince should be Govern'd by the People, than the People by the Prince ; these are the Blessings deriv'd to posterity, such as your Lordship, so much boasts of, these are the Privileges, you Recommend to that Honourable House, to be preserv'd Inviolable. They are indeed, my Lord, worth preserving ; for is it not exceeding Glorious to have no Superiour upon Earth, to be all of us, your Lordship among the rest, independant Monarchs ; this is the levelling Principle, my Lord, which not long ago, made us the most infamous Nation on the face of the Earth, and the very Attempt to bring in the same again, deserves our Remembrance ; the happiness of Government, always consisted in Restraining the inclinations of Men, tending to dissolve the frame, or disturb the peace of Society, but this can be no valuable Happiness



ness which gives us an equal Liberty of deposing the Good, as well as Bad Princes. It reduces us to a state of Nature, and often to the necessity of excluding the Lawfull Heir (witness King *Charles* the II.) the dreadful consequences of which we have sufficiently known; nor can I, my Lord, find that ever we received such a Frame of Government from our Ancestors; our Laws in no place give us sufficient Reason to think so; nay so far from that, the penalties of Treason are denounc'd against those who pretend to introduce such a Frame amongst us, which at the best can only beggar us; our Acts of Parliament have fully declar'd the contrary, so has our Church; and, my Lord, the very Oaths your Lordship has so Solemnly taken, are Witnesses against you. Your Lordship thinks, Passive Obedience an unnecessary Doctrine, in these Times, as if the QUEEN was Immortal, and we could defie fate to make us Miserable; but, my Lord, the QUEEN her self, tho' she is the best of Women; our Nation is so well known to have the Spirit of Contradiction, that the best of Princes have been Ungratefully us'd the Spirit of Phanaticism, and pretended Moderation is still amongst us, to lay that quiet, and to prevent the acting; the sequel of their old play, is a necessary work. King *Charles* the First, her Royal Grandfather, was so Pious a Man, as it's impossible that any besides her present Majesty could exceed him; yet how much did we want the Inculcating that usefull Doctrine,



Doctrine ; the Sons of *Belial* were never  
 wanting to defame him, wound his Character  
 and at last Murther him ; nor at this time,  
 if we consider the Diabolical Spirit, which  
 Rules that party, their indelible hatred to  
 her whole Family ; can she hope for more  
 suitable returns ; their most earnest professi-  
 ons of Loyalty were but the Reverse of  
 what they meant : In the Reign of King  
*James*, if Hypocrisie had not the greatest  
 ascendant over them, their Addresses, and  
 their Flattery could never have arriv'd to  
 such an height. Your Lordship, then might  
 have enlarg'd on this Copious Subject, with  
 some probability on your Side ; but since  
 these evident Demonstrations of their Trea-  
 chery and perfidy, these pompous harangues  
 signifie just nothing at all, Your Lordship  
 seems with so much Earnestness to recom-  
 mend somewhat really of the most pro-  
 digious concern to us all, but when we Ex-  
 amine into it, we find it's only a *Chimera*,  
 what our Kingdom never had, unless in  
 Times of Anarchy and Confusion ; your  
 Lordship, would cast the greater *Odiu*m on  
 the Doctrine, as if none but Jacobites em-  
 brac'd it. If all the maintainers of that  
 Doctrine were such Enemies to the Govern-  
 ment, it would be soon at an End ; what  
 Number of Addresses, my Lord, are daily  
 sent to the QUEEN in favour of it, if  
 all these were Friends to the *Chevalier*,  
 C what

what a strong and Numerous party has he got here?

You have so much Charity for the Prisoner as not to believe that he meant to carry things to such an height, but still under the notion of False Brotherhood, advantage may be taken against our Constitution; this I could never understand; does your Lordship mean that our Constitution cannot be preserv'd without the assistance of those False Brethren, or that those odious Calumnies enrage the Mob against the Ministry, which in time may hazard the security of the Protestant Succession? If the first, then, my Lord, you have cast the worst Colour on the Constitution, that it can't be, or is supported by none but Men, endued with Hypocritical Sanctity, and no principle of Honour, or Honesty; but if the second, then your Lordship would have the World believe that their Characters are Suspicious, that their guilt makes them Jealous of the Peoples Rage and Fury; it must be thus, or I cannot see how Preaching against False Brethren can endanger the Constitution: In the beginning of her Majesty's Reign, the Ministry lay under no such suspicions from the Church party; the Government subsisted, nay Flourished then with full as much Reputation abroad as it does now,  
and

and those were the Ornament of the Church, and State both. Wide enough from the purpose, You bring in their Schism, as if for want of real Arguments, Sly Reflections must supply the place; but, my Lord, their Schism was not so unjustifiable before the Death of — — as to deserve that hard censure, you pass'd on them; 'Mr. *Dodwell*, one of those Separatists you so loudly Exclaim against has fully Confuted that Errour of Refusing our Communion purely to avoid joyning in Prayer for the QUEEN. They did it on another foot, *viz.* The Lay Deprivation of the Bishops, a Schism which certainly is the most pardonable of any, if we consider that the whole Catholick Church was Guilty of it, in the purest Ages, when there was occasion offer'd; how often does Ecclesiastical Histories mention as unaccountable things as these? nor do I find the Nonjurors to have been negligent, in proving the Reasonableness of it, with as much or more learning perhaps than some Body was ever master of. First, my Lord, prove theirs to be a Schism, before you Rashly pronounce it the most unaccountable one that ever was heard of. What they have done since I have no hand in, I leave it to those who persist in it to defend; but the first, was not so much out of Ambition, as to assert the Rights of Christianity, which since the Reformation have been for the



most part betray'd; to stand up for your Order, my Lord, tho they meet with this return from your hands, however they may dissent from the policies of these Times and the new maxims of Government, they are still Men of Honesty, and Integrity, nor have they complied with the Impiety of the Times, to Curse God and dye; your Lordship, next to as little purpose tells us of the disaffection of some to the Government, and their Seditious Pamphlets, then seriously enquire whether these are Friends to the Government. No, my Lord, they bid open defiance to it, but still they are not the only Assertors of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience; False Brotherhood, I confess is an heavy Imputation, but as the Doctor applyed it to no particular Persons, but invieghed against it in general Terms, our Laws by innuendo's can take no advantage of his Person. It's certainly, my Lord, the greatest Tyranny to have a Jury sit upon a Man's Thoughts, to Condemn him, for only suppos'd Sedition; why is False Brotherhood more exempted from Preaching against than other Vices; certainly, my Lord, a Minister of the Gospel ought to exhort against every thing Immoral and Scandalous; but Hypocrisy is so prevailing a Sin every where as excuses a more vehement handling than ordinary:



dinary : Your Lordship cannot deny those to be False Brethren, who frequent our Communion, for a place; who pretend Moderation, but in all their Votes and Actions are against the Establish'd Church; these, my Lord, the Prisoner might mean; there was latitude enough without including the Ministry; what reason is there to apply it to them? is not the very Suspicion a greater reproach to the Ministry, than any the Doctor flung upon it? Again your Lordship blames the Doctor, not for expressing the Doctrine of Passive Obedience in general Terms, but endeavouring to clear the Revolution of that Resistance. Is this so great a Crime, my Lord, or does it derogate from the Honour of the Revolution. Is it the Glory of the Revolution, that the Supream Power was Resisted? if not, there could be no Reflection on the Revolution in his Sermon.

My Lord, I shall conclude this troublesome work with only this Remark; That you have not Explain'd what the Primitive Christians mean by their Passive Obedience, nor any where concern'd your self with it, as an Article of our Faith; so that you have given very little Satisfaction to the World, in your Speech, nor one  
Tolerable

Tolerable Reason why the Doctor, ( whose  
Honesty and Stedfastness has much exceed-  
ed many of our B——p's ) should be Con-  
demn'd.

*I am your Lordship's*

*most Obedient Servant J. J.*

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*F I N I S.*

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